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SUBJECT: NIGERIA/POLICE REFORM: FIRST QUARTER REPORT

1.(SBU) SUMMARY: Progress in implementing the INL/ICITAP Police Reform project in Nigeria has been encouraging, particularly given the past challenges in starting the project. A collaborative foundation among ICITAP advisors and GON partners has been built and the forecast for training and change management activities is good, provided that commitments made to date by GON counterparts are realized. END SUMMARY

Building Relationships

2.(SBU) The ICITAP Police Advisor/Project Manager arrived at Post in mid-August, along with two Jos-based ICITAP technical advisors (contractors) and immediately began building working relationships with senior Police managers at Police Headquarters in Abuja and the instructor training center in Jos. ICITAP staff has found a key partner in Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIG) Musa Abdulkadir, who oversees all of the Police Training schools and administration of the training curriculum. Abdulkadir agrees with the USG project's goals of change in Police training and has provided crucial, efficient support to the ICITAP team. Support at the Central Planning and Training Unit (CPTU) in Jos -- charged with training of Police Trainers and updating the various Police curricula -- has been less even, though new instructors are eager to work with ICITAP in implementing the new Basic Recruit curriculum. The Director of the CPTU has just been removed and the Deputy Inspector General for Training guarantees the ICITAP PA/PM that the new Director will be more motivated to his task of training reform.

3.(SBU) Inspector General of Police (IG) Tafa Balogun supports the project in principle but has not been as active as he could be. From numerous candid accounts by his staff, Balogun apparently remains suspicious of USG intentions and reluctant to quickly and fully embrace comprehensive reforms in Nigeria Police management.

4.(SBU) The immediate work goals of reviewing and redesigning the basic recruit curriculum and instructor development curriculum have been achieved. ICITAP technical advisors assigned to work the NP's CPTU staff in Jos have designed curricula for both basic recruits and the instructors who train those recruits. Jos has proven a good base from where current and future training efforts can be centralized. At the CPTU facility on the Jos Police College campus, ICITAP has an office with computers, training aides, and a photocopier -- all with generator support. Operating costs are lower than elsewhere in the country and the College campus offers a ready learning center where officers can reside while receiving training or working with ICITAP on additional curricula reforms.

Next Step: Kaduna

5.(SBU) The ICITAP Facility in Jos will serve to train basic recruit instructors there and conduct elections security training and the CDM training for the Jos unit (both discussed below). Completion of the basic recruit curriculum, however, allows the project to move to the next planned phase of direct training of a new batch of basic recruits at the Kaduna Police College, to be carried out by two ICITAP trainers overseeing newly trained NP instructors at that College. Currently, a batch of 500 new recruits enters the College each month for a training course of six months. Few recruits fail their basic training, in order to satisfy the Federal Government's order for a nationwide

recruitment drive of 40,000 new recruits each year. Complementing this effort will be a Field Officer training activity to prepare the front-line supervisors of the recruits who will graduate and be posted to Kaduna. A six-to eight-month presence in Kaduna by two long-term advisors is envisioned.

6.(SBU) Kaduna Police officials, including the Commandant of the Police College and the Commissioner of Police for the State, have voiced their support for the project's goals in Kaduna. Kaduna State Governor Makarfi has supported this effort since he was first briefed two years ago; he reaffirmed this commitment in a meeting with the Ambassador, RNLEO and ICITAP Project Manager on December 11.

Civil Disorder Training . . in time for elections?

7.(SBU) Second year funding for the project includes activities for elections security (\$250,000) and Civil Disorder Management (CDM) training. Both have been moved to the front of the queue for implementation before other activities funded in the project's first fiscal year in order to have impact, albeit very limited, on security during the local and national elections scheduled for March and April 2003. Elections security training will take place in early January 2003 for 80 NPF trainers -- two from each of the countries 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory and four from the CPTU. This will be two weeks of training on the precepts of controlling polling stations to prevent disorder. This is distinct from the more operational training of the Civil Disorder Management Units.

8.(SBU) Civil Disorder Management training to build demonstration units in key urban areas with records of civil unrest had been planned as part of the project independent of the upcoming elections. However, we hope to commence training four units -- agreed to by the NP managers -- in late January, contingent upon arrival in-country of equipment to be provided to these units. ICITAP Trainers will visit Jos, Kaduna and Kano to offer four weeks of intensive training of newly created CDM units of 50 policemen/women each. A double-size unit of 100 will be trained in Lagos for the CDM unit there. The ICITAP curriculum developed for this training is in line with ICRC and UNHCR standards and will emphasize minimal use of force -- without the lethal tools that most Police currently use on crowd control situations. If the schedule is maintained, the four units will be ready for deployment in late March -- in time for the national elections and perhaps in time for the local elections.

9.(SBU) Key to the success of these units is that they will operate largely independent of conventional police units around them and will use amended Police Force Orders. (Note: Current Force Orders authorize excessive use of force to break up riots and crowds. End Note) Once trained on responsible techniques for handling unrest with restraint and accountability, these units should not be faced with contradicting orders from commanding officers.

Change Management -- the Toughest Challenge

10.(SBU) The ICITAP Advisor has been able to build an increasingly firm base of Police support for training efforts and revisions to basic recruit training and operations (e.g. Civil Disorder Management). However, acceptance of fundamental changes in the management and oversight of the Police is hard to find. The IGP seems resistant to the planned activity of creating a Police Modernization Committee composed of key stakeholders in Police reform (the Police, NGOs, the media, community groups, the National Assembly and the Police Service Commission) to offer guidance and oversight to the process of reform.

11.(SBU) We see the fledgling Police Service Commission, inaugurated in late 2001 and mandated by the Constitution, as key to prodding the Nigeria Police toward reform. Assistance to help build the PSC's capacity will be provided with FY02 ESF. Key to the success of the change management efforts of our project will be the forging of a productive relationship between the Police hierarchy and the PSC and among the two and other stakeholders in the Police Reform process. It is too early to gauge the

prospects for this success.

Sustainability -- the Key Issue

12.(SBU) Cooperation and commitment from the Police have been good to this point. The INL/ICITAP project will soon test the depth of that commitment as it advances to the next stage of demanding change in the deployment and behavior of personnel trained under the new curriculum developed and implemented jointly by ICITAP and NPF instructors. An example of this test will be the desire that most or all of the 500 new recruits to be trained (a six month period) at the Kaduna College be deployed within Kaduna City -- a break from traditional practice of deploying new recruits throughout the country -- and allowed to operate along the newly designed guidelines developed through the Field Officer training activity. If these requirements are met, this Kaduna deployment has a high chance of success and could in Phase Two of the project be replicated in the other three Police Colleges of the country.

13.(SBU) While the lack of funding and equipment are serious deficiencies, some of the other problems undermining the performance of the Nigeria Police are based in the outdated curricula and regulations of the Force and in the attitudes of senior managers. Too many senior Police officers and outside policy-makers believe the solution lies within increased recruitment of police personnel and the provision of additional equipment. Acknowledging the priority of improving the quality of new recruits and their training and reform of the procedures governing those new recruits' behavior (including the acceptance of outside accountability) will be a long-term process but a process essential for these efforts to take and hold.

ANDREWS